The Loyalists at Shelburne.*

A paper read by the Rev. T. Watson Smith, April 10, 1888

** A number of facts appearing in this paper were given several years since by the author in a prize-essay called for by the Governors of King's College, Windsor.*

by Rev. T. Watson Smith, originally published in
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This reprint preserves the original language of Rev. Smith's 1888 paper, including racial terminology common to that era. While such language is now outdated and offensive, it has been retained to maintain the historical integrity of the source document.

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Two events in the history of Nova Scotia might of themselves furnish themes for the historians and poets of a great nation. These are the expulsion of the Acadians and the arrival and settlement of the Loyalists. Longfellow has given immortality to the one: the other has not yet found poet or historian to do it justice.

Few details of the conflict which preceded the arrival of the Loyalists in Nova Scotia are here necessary. The first shot in the war of the American Revolution—"the shot heard round the world" —was fired near Concord, Massachusetts, on April 19th, 1775: the war reached an actual, though not formal, close on October 19th, 1781, when at Yorktown, Va., in presence of the combined French and American forces, Lord Cornwallis surrendered to Washington his army of 7000 men, and retired from a scene on which, throughout, he is believed to have been an unwilling actor.

This surrender called forth the extremes of joy and sorrow. At Philadelphia, at midnight, a watchman is said to have traversed the streets, shouting at intervals: "Past twelve o'clock, and a fine morning, Cornwallis is taken." It seemed as if the words would wake the very dead. Candles were lighted, windows were thrown up, figures in night robes and night-caps bent eagerly out of the windows, and as half-clad citizens met each other on the streets they shouted, laughed, wept for very joy. In New York, bitter tears and despairing groans were caused by the news. That city had been for five years an asylum for the friends of Britain from all the revolted colonies. During those years it had been gay with all the pomp and circumstance of war; foreign amusements and old-world extravagance had been freely introduced; and the volume given to business had been immense. To the vast crowd of Loyalists collected there, most of whom had hoped that absence from former homes would be but temporary, the surrender of Cornwallis seemed like the knell of doom —a doom all the more to be dreaded because undefined.

Two weary years followed that eventful October day—years full of forebodings to these Loyalists. It was soon learned that they had little to hope for from negotiations at Paris; they had less to expect from their victorious neighbors. The struggle had been long and severe. It had not been precisely a foreign war or a civil war, but in it had been combined features of both. On the battle-fields of the Revolution neighbor often met neighbor, and brother even sometimes met brother. There had been much, too, that was not war, but merely the gratification of a desire for plunder or a spirit of revenge, under

pretence of war. The bitter feelings thus awakened, with the length of the contest, had made it evident to both contending parties that they who should finally prove the weaker would have little to expect in the way of mercy from the stronger. Even, therefore, before diplomatic chatter in Paris had resulted in the signature in November, 1782, of articles of peace, which were supplemented by a definitive treaty a year later, many leading Loyalists in New York were anxiously discussing the subject of new homes elsewhere under the British flag.

During the autumn of 1782 one hundred and twenty heads of families in New York entered into an agreement to remove together to Nova Scotia; and upon the representations, it is believed, of Gideon White, father of the Rev. Dr. White, the present venerable rector of Shelburne, they turned their gaze toward the shores of the beautiful harbor which then bore the name of Port Roseway.[1] At a meeting held on November 11th, a committee of seven was chosen to make arrangements for removal thither as early as possible in the following spring.[2] Three weeks later, at another meeting, two members of the committee, Joseph Pynchon and James Dole, were selected by the company and approved by Sir Guy Carleton, the British Commander-in-chief at New York, to proceed to Halifax and lay before Governor Parr the intentions of the associators. These agents at once proceeded on their mission, Pynchon being accompanied by his family, whom he settled at Lunenburg. Invested with ample powers to determine all matters relative to the proposed settlement, they were instructed to secure adequate grants of land at and as near Port Roseway as possible. "These lands were to be free from quit-rents, to be laid out and surveyed at the cost of the government, with the reservation to the settlers of all privileges of "fishing and fowling." They were also to ask for the incorporation of their city, secure assistance in the way of workmen and materials, stipulate for aid in the opening up of roads to other districts, and obtain guarantees against the impressment,

1 Gideon White, a native of Plymouth, Mass., had fought as a volunteer on the British side at Bunker Hill. His father, fearing the consequences of this act, had sent him away to Nova Scotia. While on his way from Halifax to Yarmouth he had been captured at Barrington, at the house of John Coffin, by the crew of a Plymouth armed vessel, taken home and thrown into prison. On his release he entered the British service as an officer. In 1783 he retired, with his regiment, to Jamaica, but subsequently settled at Shelburne, where he died.

2 The members of this committee were Joseph Durfee, a trader and ship-owner of Newport, R.I., captain in a Loyalist regiment, and during a part of the war a pilot, on important occasions, on the King's ships; James Dole, a merchant of Albany, N. Y., whose losses, through loyalty, were estimated at £12,000; Peter Lynch, of Boston, a heavy loser by the war, of whom Peter Lynch, Esq., Q. C., of Halifax, is a grandson; Thomas Courtney, of Boston; William Hill, of Massachusetts, Joseph Pynchon, and Joshua Pell, a farmer.

"for ever," of any of the inhabitants for naval service. All these advantages were to be sought upon the distinct understanding that satisfaction on any or all points should in no way interfere with their claims upon the British government for compensation for losses and sufferings through the war then just ended.

So cordial was the reception of the delegates by the Governor and Council, and so favorable the statements respecting the farming and fruit-growing capabilities of the proposed place of settlement made by one or two persons who had been in its neighborhood, that the delegates at once sent back glowing reports. The Surveyor-General had assured them that the place selected was the best situation in the province for trade, fishing and farming; both Governor Parr and Sir Andrew Snape Hammond had expressed an opinion that the proposed city would become one of the "capital ports" of the American continent; and Sir Andrew, about to sail for England, had promised to support their enterprise with all his influence. The Governor had also engaged to provide 400,000 feet of boards against the arrival of the spring fleet, to be divided at the rate of thirteen hundred feet to each family. Thus fed with pleasant words, the delegates informed their friends in New York of their belief that the coming city would soon outrival Halifax; and, in private advices, ascribed the conduct of several persons, who had spoken to them of more suitable districts on the Bay of Fundy or the River St. John, to jealousy only.[3] To protect themselves and their friends against danger from an influence so baneful, indications of which were not wanting, they a little later addressed a communication to the Secretary of State and endeavoured to enlist the services of Colonel Fanning and Sir William Pepperell, then in England, At the same time they put forth all possible effort to

3 In interesting letters from Halifax at this period, Pynchon drew frequent comparisons between the natural advantages of Halifax and Port Roseway, invariably in favor of the last-named place. It is evident from these letters that before the arrival of the Loyalists at Shelburne serious fears of the overshadowing influence of the coming settlement had so far affected the people of Halifax as to render the position of Governor Parr one of some embarrassment. This fear may have been caused in part by unguarded words by Loyalists and others at Halifax who were waiting the arrival of their friends at Port Roseway, with the intention of sharing their fortunes. On February 10th, 1783, Pynchon wrote: "Much talk is here about capital of Province… Halifax can't but be sensible that Port Roseway, if properly attended to in encouraging settlers of every denomination, will have much the advantage of all supplies from the Bay of Fundy and the westward. What the consequence will be time only will reveal. They certainly are sensibly pricked. Many go so far as to say that in a few years it will dwindle, etc. This must guard us against much opposition in private, whilst the public testimony is all for us. Many at Halifax would and have tried to divert our attention to some other parts of the Province, as the Bay of Fundy, the River St. John and the eastward, and even to scatter us." A few years' experience must have convinced Pynchon that the advisers whom he suspected of jealousy were not fairly judged.

establish mills in the neighborhood of the proposed settlement, in advance of the arrival of their friends.

Through these favorable reports the number of associators grew very rapidly. Early in the spring of 1783 about 470 heads of families in New York were making preparations for departure for Port Roseway. A Board of Agency, of which Lieutenant-Colonel Beverly Robinson was President, was appointed by Sir Guy Carleton to apportion among the settlers such aid as the government should see fit to give. The emigrants were divided into sixteen companies, to each of which a captain and two lieutenants were appointed to direct the distribution of provisions and secure an equitable division of lands. A transport was provided for the conveyance of the families in each company, and as many as were deemed necessary for the removal of the heavy baggage and horses. Forty cannon, with the requisite ammunition and military stores, were also furnished by the Commander-in-chief. A commissary, an engineer, and a number of carpenters were also sent in the ships. All arrangements having been made, farewells were taken by the emigrants of fellow-Loyalists bound for Britain, the West Indies, and other parts of Nova Scotia and Canada, as well as of those more hopeful spirits who had resolved to remain in New York as long as possible, and then the various families went on board the allotted transports, and on April 27th a fleet of eighteen square-rigged vessels, with several sloops and schooners, all under convoy of two ships of war, sailed from New York for Port Roseway with the flag of Britain at the mast-head.

Let a thoughtful glance be here directed towards these exiles, and to the great body of which they were only an important detachment. Thousands of American Loyalists had already found their way to Britain, or to Nova Scotia, or some other loyal colony, and many thousands more were about to set forth upon their uncertain journey. The returns of Brook Watson, the British Commissary-General at New York at the period of the final evacuation of that city by the King's troops in November, 1783, show that during the previous ten months of that eventful year, nearly 30,000 men, women and children had been sent from New York to the several Maritime Provinces, Canada and the West Indies. Few exiles ever suffered more severely than did the majority of these Loyalists; the character and motives of none have ever been more persistently misrepresented. Of the course pursued by them, and of the motives by which they were impelled, a descendant of one who abandoned friends and lost property and health in taking up arms on the side of Britain may speak with respectful freedom.

To assume that among the immense number who bore the honorable name of Loyalist there were none unworthy of it would be folly. Included in the long list were many who were committed to the support of British ascendency by official position rather than by choice; others, guided by self-interest mainly, gave their adherence to the party upon whose banners it seemed most probable that victory would finally perch; and there can be no doubt that others—these not a few—to use the words of a witty convict when accounting for his arrival at Van Diemen's Land, "left their country for their country's good." But a very large section of Loyalists was composed of men worthy to be held in grateful remembrance. If, in the light of to-day, we justify the Whigs of the Thirteen Colonies in their armed resistance to measures calculated to enslave them, we are by no means bound to condemn their neighbors who clung to the hope of preserving their rights as freemen by constitutional means. Up to a certain point many prominent Loyalists were in accord with Whig sentiment. They deprecated, with their Whig neighbors, the madness which had caused the British Government to suddenly reverse its paternal policy of three-quarters of a century, and to seek to crush, by a succession of tyrannical measures, several millions of loyal colonists, whose progress had unfortunately aroused the jealousy of certain English statesmen who saw only danger in the rapid growth of the American Colonies and in the prowess displayed by colonial troops as they fought side by side with British soldiers in western wilds, or advanced alone, as to Louisburg, to attack and conquer the veterans of France. Many of the more intelligent Loyalists, there is reason to believe, also deeply regretted the action of the Governors of Massachusetts and Virginia in precipitating armed conflict, and of the British Cabinet in threatening the colonists with the presence of German mercenary troops. It was not until the Declaration of Independence had been given to the country by the Continental Congress that the line between the Loyalists and Whigs became sharply drawn. That celebrated document, emanating really from only a small majority of the members of an advisory body, having no recognized legal existence, and representing, as Bancroft has remarked, "nothing more solid than the unformed opinion of an unformed people," created widespread surprise. But a few months had elapsed since the subject of independence had—thanks to the fierce words and harsh acts of George III. and his cabinet—received public mention at town meetings, and through a minority of the few colonial newspapers of that day; and since Paine, in his attack on monarchy in America had first voiced the vague wish for independence, felt by a limited number. Under such circumstances many thousands of the best men in the several colonies were quite unprepared to adopt the

course proposed by Congress and endorsed by various provincial conventions[4]. Some of these could see only a promise of anarchy in an attempt to form any other than a monarchial government; and others, a part of whom had fought to maintain British prestige in America, shuddered at the thought of the abandonment of connection with a nation whose name and traditions had been to them a life-long inspiration. Both these classes were aware, moreover, that Lord Chatham and other distinguished British statesmen were still striving by all means in their power to secure for Americans the liberties claimed by them, and that they were doing this in reliance upon the explicit assurance that no attempt upon the integrity of the empire was for a moment meditated. Such men could neither forswear, in obedience to any partisan order, their allegiance to Britain, nor could they break faith with their active friends in the British Parliament, behind whom, it was well known, were the sympathies of the majority of the British people. Still greater was their perplexity when they learned that the Congress was already approaching France, the bitter enemy of civil and religious liberty, and the deadly foe for a century or more of British colonists in America, with a view to an alliance against the mother country. Who can wonder that, in such circumstances, our Loyalist forefathers were unwilling to avow themselves enemies of the nation in which they had gloried, even though a majority of her rulers when asked for bread seemed determined to give them a stone, and for a fish to give them a serpent. Put yourselves in the place of these men—the records of many of them and of their sons and grandsons fill important pages in our provincial history—and you will be slow to say that hesitation was unwarranted. They hesitated, as well they might, but only to find themselves immediately denounced by provincial and local conventions as "enemies," "rebels," and "traitors," and threatened with confiscation of property, and with even severer penalties in case of failure to take a certain proffered oath. Well might Egerton Ryerson ask: "Was it not a violation of good faith, and hard treatment for men to be declared by a new tribunal criminals in July for maintaining what all had held to be loyal and patriotic in January?"

This harsh action on the part of the Whigs seldom served its purpose. Men are not made patriots by such means: they are thus more frequently driven into determined op-

4 Lecky, whose judgment of historic facts is generally accepted, has remarked, in his "England in the Eighteenth Century," that "the American Revolution, like most others, was the work of an energetic minority who succeeded in committing an undecided and fluctuating majority to courses for which they had little love, and leading them step by step to a position from which it was impossible to recede." Elsewhere, in the same work, that historian has said: "It is probably below the truth to say that a full half of the more honorable and respected Americans were either openly or secretly hostile to the Revolution."

position. Some prominent Loyalists withdrew from the country, leaving their property to be confiscated; but others awaited the bursting of the storm which here and there permitted one to remain at the cost of untold indignities on his paternal acres, while it forced vast numbers to seek safety in the neighborhood of the British troops, or to take a share in military service. Few of those who decry the sincerity of their Loyalist fathers are aware that about thirty colonial loyal regiments took part in the sad strife of that day. Sabine estimates that, at the lowest computation, 25,000 colonists entered the King's service, of whom nearly one-fifth were killed, wounded or captured. Not a few of the officers of these Loyalist regiments took up arms unwillingly, but when drawn in part by their regard for British institutions, and driven in part by the bitterness of colonial neighbors, they took the field, their names became a synonym for determination and daring, and were long whispered in certain sections of the Republic with bated breath.

Of the treatment of the Loyalists by the victorious Whigs at the close of the conflict a few words may be said. Conciliatory action on the part of the latter would have secured many valuable citizens from the thousands of those who had been opposed to them. Acts of private wrong under cover of warfare might have been punished, but loyalty to a nation, in alliance with which the leaders in both parties had so recently gloried, might have been forgiven by those whose war cry had been liberty. The banishment of a large proportion of the ablest and most highly-educated men of the revolted colonies is now generally admitted to have been a serious mistake. France acted less foolishly when she drove out her Huguenot population—artizans who carried the secret of her finest manufactures to various English and continental cities, bringing them all into competition with the French markets. Many of the Loyalists were men of iron will and indomitable energy. They added a new and vigorous element to the population of Nova Scotia; they caused the formation of New Brunswick into a separate province; they settled the immense province of Ontario, and played a most important part in the development of our Dominion. The Republic met them again when they drove her soldiers back to her own territories in the war of 1812; she met their descendants during the long and warm controversy respecting the north-western boundary; and in our own day she has seen them with undaunted front and keen diplomatic skill stand boldly forward against any trespass upon the ocean preserves of which our fathers took possession.

Let me remind you that John Inglis, the first Episcopal bishop of Nova Scotia; Sir John Wentworth, governor of this province at the beginning of this century; Edward Winslow, a member of a distinguished Massachusetts family, whose death at Halifax, in

1784, was followed by funeral ceremonies of unusual distinction; Sampson Salter Blowers and Ward Chipman, chief justices, the first of Nova Scotia and the second of New Brunswick; Judge Sewall, of New Brunswick, an early and intimate friend of John Adams; Foster Hutchinson, judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia; Jonathan Bliss, attorney-general of New Brunswick, and Benning Wentworth, provincial secretary of Nova Scotia, were all Loyalists, and all, with two exceptions, graduates of Harvard; that Sir Brenton Haliburton, whose life story has been well told by the Rev. Dr. Hill; Egerton Ryerson, founder of the well-known school system of Ontario; Joseph Howe, of whom no Nova Scotian can be ignorant; and Judge Stewart, of the Supreme Court of this province, were sons of Loyalists: that Sir John Inglis, the brave defender of Lucknow; Sir Frederic P. Robinson and Sir W. H. Robinson, both knighted on account of their military services; Lemuel Allan Wilmot, like Joseph Howe, a leader in the struggle for responsible government, and, like him, at one time a governor of his native province; Sir George Cathcart and Major Welsford, who fell in the Crimea; Thomas Chandler Haliburton, whose literary reputation is world-wide, and, if I am not mistaken, Sir William Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars, were grandsons of Loyalists. The late Sir Robert Hodgson, Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island, was also of Loyalist descent. Let me remind you of these and of many others, living or dead, whose names may occur to you, with the suggestion that a study of the history of the Loyalists at large would swell the brief list given to an almost indefinite extent, and you may form some idea of the value of the men and of the descendants of the men who were driven abroad by the bitterness of the Revolutionary victors.

Let us not, in relation to this important historical event, ignore God in history, or forget to be grateful for the happier spirit in which the international strifes of the present generation are treated. The man who reads of the wholesale banishment of our Loyalist fathers in the light of the past century, will be sure to estimate aright their sacrifices, while he will none the less regard as worthy of honor the great nation whose northern limits form our southern boundary. The prevalent feeling of the American people of this generation was put into words by the late Henry Ward Beecher nearly five years ago, at a meeting held in New York just one hundred years from the day on which the British troops had taken their final departure from that city, when he said of the victors and their severe enactments: ‘‘They did not know any better. They had the instincts of the animal-you bite me and I bite you. That was the instinct of the age.” No exception was taken to these words or to other words spoken of the vanquished: “How natural it was that one

should love the government under which he had been brought up! Around it was all the literature, all the romance, and all the suggestions of his childhood. I should have been in a strait myself if I had been there. If imagination had dominated, I would have gone with Great Britain: if love of my neighbours I would have stayed here and fought her. It was a piteous thing to drive them into exile. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia received thousands of the noblest of those who were driven out by a spirit of what seemed to be justice by the foes of England."

Would you, in these days of easy attachment to country, cultivate in your children a regard for our institutions which have grown up under the fostering care of Britain? Then take them to the graves of some of these old Loyalist veterans, and tell them of the sorrows and sufferings endured in the development of our country. And, lingering beside the hillock where rests the dust of some one of these heroes, give a thoughtful glance at the grave beside it. Buried there may be material for a tale as touching as that of Evangeline, and true withal. Erroneously, we have come to use the term Loyalist as a masculine appellation only. Let us be just. In the sorrow and sadness of that wonderful exodus, and in its earlier sequel on our own shores, the larger share by far must have fallen to the lot of our Loyalist foremothers.

To the more imaginative members of the company bound for the southern shore of Nova Scotia in the spring of 1783 there may have been a certain attractiveness in the name of their destination. That name, however, was only a corruption of the one originally given. The French had called the harbor Port Razoir. Their settlement near its entrance had been broken up. Once a pirate had killed their cattle, and twice the New Englanders had burned their dwellings, and finally the few settlers had fled in consequence of arguments so persuasive. Nearly half a century later, a few other settlers found their way to the deserted spot. The first to reach it was Anthony Demings, by birth a Portuguese, but for many years a resident at Amherst, Mass. Demings had quarrelled with the captain of a fishing schooner, and had asked to be put ashore, with a bundle containing all his earthly possessions, near Cape Negro. Wandering around the coast he came to the ruins of the French buildings, and for years remained there, enduring much suffering. Once he had spent a week on a journey to the New England settlement at Barrington, having crossed from Cape Negro on a raft, to obtain a bag of meal which he carried through the woods on his shoulders. At the end of five years he had been joined by several Scotch-Irish families, whom Alexander McNutt had led thither as pioneers of his intended settlement—New Jerusalem, for which he and his associates had received a grant

of one hundred thousand acres bordering upon the harbor, which was escheated just before the arrival of the Loyalists for noncompliance with legal conditions. A family or two had also sought homes on the coast, near the entrance to the harbor. In the meantime the name of the harbor had undergone some changes. By the French it was called Port Razoir; in English documents it was afterwards designated Port Rozea, and then Port Rosaway; and to our Loyalist fathers it was described as Port Roseway.

The passage of the exiles from port to port was a week in length. Then stern fact took the place of fancy. The first land seen by them was Cape Sable, white with snow. Soon after, on the 4th May, 1783, they entered the harbor for which they were bound, and anchored near its mouth. Keenly enough, we may presume, they scrutinized their new surroundings. The most practised eye could discern no spot bordering those calm waters on which to raise even a military tent, except that on which Demings and his few neighbors had taken refuge. In such circumstances the strength and the weakness of human nature were seen in strong contrast. The spirit of mischief, too, could thrust its provoking face among the groups gathered on the decks. A military officer, about to return to England, had, with as much good judgment as generosity, presented his horses to the wife of one of the Loyalist captains. "Madam," said he, as they looked up and across the harbor, "where do you intend to drive?" The three surveyors, who had already arrived from Halifax, and the few residents near the mouth of the harbor in particular, were everywhere in request. Tales of hardship, as told by the latter, found deeply-interested hearers, "But how came you to stay here?" said an incredulous listener to old Ebenezer Berry. "Ah," said Berry—and his reply was a sadly suggestive one— "Poverty brought me here and poverty kept me here."

As soon as the site of the town had been determined by Mr. Lawson—the engineer, the three surveyors and the committee of the associators, the fleet was piloted up the harbor by Anthony Demings. It was arranged that the town should consist of five long parallel streets, crossed by others at right angles, each square containing sixteen lots, sixty feet in front and one hundred and twenty in depth; and that the space between Water Street and the shore should be cut up by small lanes and divided into small lots, so that to each associator might be given a town and a water lot, and also a fifty-acre farm lot on some part of the shore of the harbor or its neighbourhood. At each end of the town a reservation was made for a common. Parties from the various vessels at once went on shore to cut down the trees and clear the lands, under the direction of the surveyors. As soon as possible tents were pitched and huts erected on the clearings, and a hut or a tent,

with arms and ammunition, allotted to each family. So vigorously was the work pushed on that on the 11th July—two months after they had sailed up the harbor—the division of the lands was commenced. On that day the town was separated into the North and South Divisions, the streets received their names, the squares and lots were numbered, and to each of the original associators, and as far as possible to others, were assigned both a town and warehouse lot. Each man could now pilot his family through the rocks and stumps and swamps, and point to some collection of these materials and say "This is ours!" Did no silent tear steal down fair cheeks at the first glance at the spot allotted for the new home? From an old document I learn that the farms were afterwards drawn by lot, with the consent of the deputy surveyor-general and the magistrates: it is altogether probable that the first distribution of lands was made in a similar way.

The new Loyalist settlement received its name—Shelburne—on August 2nd. This name was given by Governor Parr in honor of Lord Shelburne, (afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne,) Secretary of State for the Colonies. During this visit, Governor Parr, whose presence was attended by a succession of festivities on ship and on shore, appointed several magistrates. In one important matter the inhabitants were disappointed. They had set their hearts upon the incorporation of their projected city. Their agents had been instructed to press the point with all earnestness, but from the governor, now on the ground, they could obtain no satisfaction. Soon after his return to Halifax, the governor, in a letter to Lord North, expressed an opinion that the people of Shelburne, the number of whom exceeded five thousand, would soon prove a "happy and prosperous" community.

While these five thousand exiles, suddenly set down among the rocks and stumps, were striving to make the best of their new and peculiar position, they were sorely perplexed by the arrival of five thousand others, many of whom they regarded as unwelcome neighbors. Whatever trials the earlier exiles had had to endure, their position had been preferable to that of friends who had remained behind. In August, 1783, Sir Guy Carleton wrote to Washington that the disregard of the articles of peace shown by the newspapers, and by threats from committees formed in various towns, and even in Philadelphia, where the Congress was in session, was such that he was obliged by his relation to his government and by humanity itself to remove all who should wish to be removed. This removal, in view of the approaching evacuation of New York by the British forces, had to be made in haste. On September, 1783, a large fleet with Loyalists and disbanded soldiers—8000 in all—left New York for St. John and Shelburne. One of the

vessels bound for St. John was wrecked on a ledge near Cape Sable, with the loss of ninety-nine lives, but all the vessels due at Shelburne reached their destination in safety.

The sudden arrival of five thousand persons in a settlement where five thousand previously on the ground could scarcely find shelter, was a serious event, especially near the end of September. In the emergency the government did all that was possible. Two new divisions were run out on the reservations intended for the north and south commons, and the long streets parallel with Water Street were increased to the number of eleven. As early as November 11th, the citizen settlers drew their lots and two days later the disbanded troops received theirs. Many of those who had arrived in the autumn spent the winter on the vessels at the cove, and some had a tent as their only shelter. Fortunately, at Shelburne the winter was one of unusual mildness, and therefore much more satisfactory to the settlers there than to their fellow-exiles in New Brunswick. Many of the Loyalists at St. John spent the first winter in log houses, bark camps and tents, and a number of persons died through exposure. At Fredericton, further inland, there was keener suffering. ‘‘Women, delicately reared, cared for their infants beneath canvas tents, rendered habitable only by the banks of snow which lay six feet deep in the open spaces of the forests. Men, unaccustomed to toil, looked with dismay towards a future which seemed hopeless; and, as one said who as a child passed through those dreadful days: ‘Strong, proud men wept like children, and lay down in their snow-bound tents to die.’” At that place, too, the survivors are said to have narrowly escaped starvation, through the non-arrival of supplies before the closing of navigation. At Shelburne, throughout that winter, rations were issued by the agents of the British government to between nine and ten thousand persons.

During the succeeding spring other lands were laid out and allotted, but the growth of the proposed city was retarded by several causes. In many cases the lots drawn were ill-suited to the business of the owners, and proper sites could only be obtained by exchange or purchase at the expense of delay. With all the effort practicable, it was not possible to secure a sufficient number of workmen nor a satisfactory supply of building materials, But more injurious than all other causes were internal dissensions and general dissatisfaction with the provincial government. The imposition of heavy duties called forth a strong public protest and a demand that the inhabitants should be exempt from the payment of these duties until the town should be incorporated and properly represented in the legislature. Governor Parr, in reply, expressed regret at his inability to relieve them from the payment of duties, but assured them that so soon as the House

should have attended to the current business of the year he would dissolve it, and not call another until writs should have been issued for the return of members from all the new settlements.[5] Complaints were also made about the delay in the issue of grants, but the arrival of these only increased the dissatisfaction. It was generally remarked that certain influential men seemed to have been singularly favored by the use of the lot. Suspicion in this direction led to bickerings and jealousies which were never allayed. The government appointed a committee of leading citizens to settle disputes, but the difficulties finally led to a riot, the ringleader in which was carried on board the *Mercury*, man-of-war, and impressed as a seaman, which high-handed act called forth bitter feeling toward the captain of the *Mercury*—the Hon. H. E. Stanhope.

The first election, consequent upon the formation of the townships of Yarmouth, Barrington and Shelburne into the county of Shelburne, was a scene of great excitement. No principle was at stake: the issue was in great measure personal. The opposing parties were known as the Blues and the Greens. The friends of Alexander Leckie, Esq., one of the candidates for the county, were known as the Blues; and a few years ago the descendants of his slaves still bore in Shelburne the name of Blue. Any one who has ever found himself almost alone in one of the broad, level streets of Shelburne will be amused when told that King Street was so crowded on that election day that one might have walked on the heads of the people. The contest is said to have been decided by the Blues making their way in a body to the polling place and taking possession of it.

Among the able men who took part in the work of the session noted for the impeachment of Judges Deschamps and Brenton was Isaac Wilkins, the representative then elected for the township of Shelburne. Legislative halls were to him no novelty. The son of a Jamaica planter, he had been sent to King's (now Columbia) College, New York, to prepare for the Episcopal ministry. Having abandoned that purpose, he had settled at Westchester, and had been elected representative for that county in the legislature of the colony of New York, as a leader on the ministerial side. Previous to the war he had married a sister of Lewis Morris, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, but a vote of

5 In reference to this subject Pynchon wrote from Halifax to one of the committee in February, 1783: "The present form of government [of Nova Scotia] must and will immediately be changed. The House of Representatives have never yet been changed, and they at present when chosen stand for life. Such a government will never suit a people used to a free and annual representation. I hope Colonel Upham will find his interest to join with you, as it appears to me he well understands the spirit of a people who have been landholders in fee simple. This is the misfortune of Great Britain in respect to the colonies—placing in their own minds the landholders in the colonies upon a footing with those they call peasants in Britain, when really that character is scarcely to be found in the colonies."

thanks to the delegates who had drawn up that celebrated historical paper was defeated in the New York Legislature mainly through Isaac Wilkins's influence. He also used his pen with such effect that his pamphlets were burned whenever they fell into Whig hands. Previous to his departure for England in 1775, he published an address to his friends, in which he declared that all he had done had been with a view to the welfare of his adopted land, and that he was about to leave America because he could not raise his hand against his sovereign, nor would he draw his sword against his country. A year later he returned to Long Island, and in 1783 came with the spring fleet to Shelburne. He was appointed first custos of the county, and on Colonel Beverly Robinson's departure, president of the Board of Agents. Under promise of a grant of land at Shelburne he submitted to an escheat of a tract of five thousand acres, secured in 1770, near St. John, N. B. On his grant of seventy-two acres at Gunning Cove—Carleton village of that day—near the entrance of the harbor, he spent nearly all that he had in the erection of a very fine building, long known as "Wilkins's Folly." An official township list of "Persons absent or immediately on the wing" in 1792, contains the name of Isaac Wilkins. From Shelburne he removed to Lunenburg, and thence, about 1800, returned to Westchester, N. Y, where he became rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a position he continued to hold until his death in 1830. Two judges of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, both bearing the name of Lewis Morris Wilkins, and both residents of Windsor, were son and grandson of Isaac Wilkins.

The appointment of additional magistrates by Governor Parr on his first visit to Shelburne has been mentioned. The records of the sessions in a town where an immense mixed crowd, recently exposed to all the unhallowed and unsettling influences of a long civil war, had been suddenly collected, present a better view of the legal punishments of that day than could elsewhere be obtained. Pynchon, one of the first agents, had written to Captain Durfee in reference to rivalry with Halifax: "We must encourage settlers of any denomination, as we cannot all be farmers. And whoever has the human form, especially sailors and fishermen, must on some part of the harbor have given them a house lot at least to build on." That those who bear the human form may become desperately bad no one can question.

One is startled by learning from these old records what trifling crimes were followed by the penalty of death. Shannon and Doyle, for stealing some money from a vessel at Sandy Point in 1784; Britain Murray, for an attempted theft which secured a few pence; and John Mitchell, for a robbery at Tusket, and one other, name unknown, suf-

fered death by hanging at Shelburne. In pronouncing sentence of death on these poor wretches Shelburne magistrates were acting quite within the lines of British law. English judges were then obliged to pass the death sentence upon men whose gains by crime would scarcely pay for the rude rope put around their necks. It was about that period that Lord Mansfield, the well-known English judge, charged a jury, to the expressed disgust of a plundered jeweller, to find that a stolen trinket was of less value than forty shillings, in order that the prisoner might escape the capital sentence. One can scarcely believe, what nevertheless was a fact, that less than ninety years ago Samuel Rogers, the poet, saw a cartful of young girls on their way to execution at Tyburn. Such was one phase of the "good old times."

The punishment of the lash, which almost equally degrades two men—the man who swings the whip and the man whose back receives it—to say nothing of the spectators, was then freely used. If this did not suffice, the culprit went to the workhouse, where scanty fare and hard work presented small temptation to the commission of crime with a view to a winter's board. The first person who appears to have been publicly whipped was one Diana, a Negro woman, who was sentenced to receive two hundred lashes at the cart's-tail on one Saturday and one hundred and fifty on the next. By way of variety a whipping-post was erected on Stanhope's Hill, and thenceforward the records of the sessions abounded with notices of whippings by the cat-o-nine-tails, at the cart's-tail, the whipping-post and at the street corners. The last sentence of this kind in Shelburne was executed as late as 1826, when a colored woman received twenty one lashes with the cats.

The pillory was then also in vogue. The frame stood at the corner of Water and Ann streets, and was used as early as November, 1784. As pictured in old prints, the frame was composed of two upright posts, with a cross-piece about the height of a man's shoulders; this cross-piece was divided into two parts, upper and lower, in each of which were three semi-circular indentations. The centre one received the head of the culprit, and the two side ones his hands; the upper piece then closed down on his neck and held him in a perfectly helpless position. Thus bound, the victim became, during the period prescribed by the court, a target for all the garbage and promiscuous missiles which the mob might choose to fling at him without danger of serious injury. The low carnival was generally limited to one hour, and was, in most cases, like the lash, an accompaniment to imprisonment. This debasing form of punishment, now happily out of date, was used in Halifax as early as 1770.

The following curious sentence, pronounced by Stephen Skinner Esq., custos, in 1798, is copied from the records of the sessions. It is worthy of the notice of any person disposed to say naughty things about their neighbors: 'You, Margaret T. and Eliza B., jr., having been this day convicted of publishing a scandalous and malicious libel; from hence you are both to be put in a cart, with the following inscription on your breasts and backs, viz.: 'Convicted of a scandalous and false libel,' and to be led to the pump in King street, and thence to proceed through Water street as far as the middle of George street, and thence to proceed back to the corner of John street, and thence to be conducted to your respective places of abode." Tradition states that at the conclusion of the ceremony the elder of the two women politely thanked the constables for their elevated view of a section of the town.

Not unfrequently Shelburne magistrates contented themselves with giving culprits ''leg-bail." Four men, for instance, lay at one time in the jail under sentence of death, but three out of the four were pardoned by Governor Parr. The three were therefore brought into court, and were there dismissed with the assurance that if caught in the province after three months the original sentence should be carried into effect. Unfortunately this inexpensive expedient worked in two ways. A Captain Napier, who in 1787, had entered into a contract abroad to remove a number of convicts, landed a part of them at Tusket and the remaining number at Shelburne, where he bound out several as servants. The magistrates, suspecting the real character of Captain Napier's passengers, and learning that others were on their way from Tusket, seized the captain and examined the crew. They thus learned that their visitors had been put on board by a military guard, under whose charge they had remained until the vessel had sailed. The captain, finding his scheme exposed, requested the magistrates to apprehend all the convicts, and promised to pay all expenses, lodging his papers as security with James Bruce, the collector. While making all possible effort to secure the stragglers the magistrates were surprised to learn that Captain Napier, ready to sail, had demanded his papers of the collector, who had no legal right to hold them, and was preparing to leave the harbor. The civil officers, assisted by men from the 6th Regiment, then in garrison, arrested the captain and threw him into jail while a statement was being forwarded to the higher court. The Supreme Court, however, quashed the order for informality, and Captain Napier sailed away without his previous companions, leaving Shelburne magistrates to learn that the practice of getting rid of criminals by sending them abroad worked in two ways.

Historical order alone has led me to speak of legal affairs at Shelburne in advance of arrangements for the public worship of the Most High. The presence of church buildings is an outward and visible sign of true regard for the King of Kings; and the ministry of the Gospel is one of the most effective departments of police, Shelburne had magistrates before it had a resident minister, and for several years had no permanent churches. The worst omen for the prosperity of the place was not that long remembered—the hoisting of the national flag, union down, on the day when the town was named by Governor Parr; it was this absence of churches. The first sermon known to have been preached was given by the Rev. William Black, grandfather of M. P. Black, Esq., of this city. Mr. Black found accommodation in the tent of Robert Barry, one of the few Methodists of the place. On Sunday he preached three times and on Monday once from a table placed among the stumps on Robert Barry's lot.[6] The week-day sermon, interpreted by some persons as an evidence of being "righteous overmuch," drew upon the preacher an attack with stones, from one of the largest of which he had a very narrow escape. From that time Mr. Black and other Methodist ministers, prominent among whom was that staunch old Loyalist, James Mann, gave to the town such attention as was in their power, but no building for the express purpose of worship was erected by the Methodists until twenty years had passed. A large building belonging to Charles White, one of their leading men, was for a time used as a church by themselves, and for a shorter period by the Episcopal ministers.

About two months after the visit of Mr. Black the Rev. Dr. Walter, previously rector of Trinity Church, Boston, reached Shelburne, and soon after him the Rev. George Panton, from New Jersey. The last-named minister remained but a short time, leaving Dr. Walter in charge of the two parishes of St. George and St. Patrick. The government had reserved a site for an Episcopal church, but the leading citizens purchased another deemed more suitable, on which, some time later, they put up a temporary building which was only used in summer, and was never finished. The church now in use was built on a lot owned by Miss Goddard, in lieu of which pew number thirty was granted

6 Robert Barry for a time taught school at Shelburne. A little later he entered into partnership with his brother Alexander, of London, G. B. The firm had branches at Dorchester and other places in the Maritime Provinces, and for some years carried on an extensive trade. About 1811 Robert Barry returned to Liverpool, N. S., where, highly esteemed by numerous friends, he died in 1843, at the age of eighty-three. The late John Alexander Barry, a Halifax merchant who came into prominence in 1829 as a representative in the Provincial Assembly for Shelburne, in which place he was born, was a son of Robert Barry. Mr. Barry, having been ordered into custody by the House for violent and contumacious conduct, was rescued on his way to prison by a large crowd, which hooted and pelted the members of the House. This now celebrated case caused great excitement at the time.

to the Goddard family forever. It was paid for in great measure by government grants, and was consecrated in 1790 by Bishop Inglis, on his first visit to the town. During the following year Dr. Walter removed to Boston, where, in a few months, he was chosen rector of Christ Church. A son of his remained some time in Shelburne, and a grandson, born there, became the proprietor and first editor of the Boston Evening Transcript. The next rector was the Rev. John Hamilton Rowland, previously of Pennsylvania, at whose death in 1795 the parish was placed in the hands of his son, Thomas B. Rowland. On the retirement of the latter the Rev. Thomas H. (now Dr.) White became rector. Of the christian courtesy of this venerable and highly esteemed minister, still a resident of Shelburne, the writer of this paper has pleasant recollections.

The members of the Church of Scotland in early Shelburne were somewhat numerous. In 1785 Governor Parr granted the site on which the present church stands, where they erected a temporary building which, after several years' use in summer, was blown down. In 1785 the Presbyterians of Shelburne appealed to the General Assembly of the Scotch Church for assistance in the way of a minister and funds for his support, but without success. A petition three years subsequently to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Pitt, for a money grant, was equally unavailing. The earliest Presbyterian minister of the place was the Rev. Hugh Fraser, who, during the war, had been acting chaplain to the 71st Highland Regiment, of which Dr. Blair, of Edinburgh, was the regular chaplain. He reached Shelburne some time in 1783, and remained there nearly ten years. In December, 1803, the Rev. Matthew Dripps arrived, and at once entered upon his faithful and successful pastorate. A successor of his was the Rev. Gavin Lang, father of the minister of that name for some years at Montreal.

A small Baptist church was also put up at an early date, as was also one owned by Mr. William Taylor, an English General Baptist. Most of the original Baptists of the place were colored, whose minister was David George. The first baptisms by immersion at Shelburne and Lockeport were performed by him. This good man met with no small amount of persecution. At Shelburne and in this city he proved a trusty agent of Lieutenant John Clarkson, and after his arrival at the African colony he secured and retained the esteem of its managers. His parents were native Africans. The Revs. John Craig, Harris Harding, and other Baptist ministers, occasionally visited the Loyalist town. During a visit of Mr. Harding in 1791, a mob created a serious disturbance. Of a church of twenty members, whose names were appended to a "solemn covenant" in 1803, the Rev. John Burton was "minister and acting trustee."

Of occasional visits by preachers, those of Quakers only found notice in the journals of the day. Whether from England or America the Quakers met with a courteous reception. Their religious meetings were held in the court-house, which for some years was used as a place of worship during the winter season by the ministers of the English and Scotch Churches. Owing, in all probability, to the legal disabilities of that day, no references to Roman Catholic services appear in the records and newspapers.

Two cemeteries were marked out. That for the northern district was at the rear of the town; the southern was near the cove. Twenty-two years ago part of a single gravestone only could be found in the first, where interments had been most numerous; in the second no trace of hillocks could be observed. Both had been abandoned soon after the opening of the burial grounds surrounding the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches, and had become over-grown by tall trees or brushwood. The land for a Methodist cemetery was given by John Hoose, a surgeon in one of the Hessian Regiments, whose dust rests there, beside that of his wife.

The general expectation of the importance of Shelburne seems to have been shared by the military and naval authorities. Important reservations for purposes of defence were made on the shores of the harbor, but the early decay of the place prevented the erection of any extensive fortifications. Large barracks were built on the west side of the harbor. A road was made by the troops around the head of the harbor, and over this road a march of three miles was necessary whenever they attended church. The 17th and 6th Regiments successively occupied these barracks—the latter for five years. Two of its officers, drowned in the harbor on their way to the military post at Carleton Point, are buried in the Episcopal cemetery. On the removal of the 6th the magistrates urged the Governor to use his influence against any reduction of the force, but a single company only of the 4th was sent, and in a few years the military establishment was completely broken up. Field-marshal Beresford, well known to all familiar with the history of the Peninsular war, lost an eye while out on a shooting expedition near the Shelburne barracks.

A large number of Negro slaves reached Shelburne from the revolted colonies. ‘They appeared on the rolls as ‘‘servants,” but their number, as ordinary servants, was suspiciously large. Stephen Shakespeare was accompanied by twenty, and Charles Oliver Bruff, a goldsmith, by fifteen of them. Isaac Wilkins is also said to have brought a good many. With Captain Andrew Barclay’s company of fifty-five men and women

and forty-nine children, were no less than fifty-seven "servants," thirty-six of whom, however, were owned by four families. There is little reason to doubt that nearly all were really slaves. The terms "slave" and "the property of" appear almost as frequently in the official records of early Shelburne as one would expect to see them in those of a southern slave-holding city. A certificate in my possession, bearing date as late as 1800, has reference to the hiring of a slave. In fact, slavery near the close of the last century, had a certain legal recognition in this province. It is not more than a hundred years since a Presbyterian divine in Nova Scotia held a slave and defended his conduct in a long series of letters based for the most part on the teaching of Scripture. It was in 1786 that the excellent Dr. MacGregor, of the same church, agreed to pay £50 for the freedom of a colored girl held in slavery by a member of his congregation, and that he actually paid £20 according to that agreement out of an exceedingly meagre salary. An interesting trial, having relation to slavery, took place at Shelburne during the following year. One Jesse Gray, of Argyle, had sold to William Mangham, of Shelburne, a colored woman called Mary Postill, for one hundred bushels of potatoes. Gray was charged with "misdemeanor," it being alleged that he was not the real owner of the woman in question. Proof having, however, been given that Gray had been her owner in the Southern States, the court at once acquitted him, and the woman became as much the property of Mangham for a hundred bushels of potatoes as would a horse or a waggon for the same consideration. One restriction the law provided—that no one could dispose of a slave outside the province, but on more occasions than one slaves were taken from Shelburne and were sold in the West Indies. It was the harsh treatment of a slave by a Loyalist master, who had carried him to London, that elicited the decision of Lord Mansfield that no master was at liberty to send his Negro-servant from England to a foreign country, or even to any British colony. The result of this decision was a movement to abolish the slave trade; and the union of Clarkson and Wilberforce with Granville Sharpe to effect that purpose.[7]

A large number of free Negroes also arrived in 1783. About two thousand, who had fled to the British lines and had keen set at work on the southern fortifications, were taken thence to New York. Only one Negro corps was enrolled for regular military ser-

7 I have not had time to look for formal enactments of our own legislature on the subject of slavery, but may remark that this "institution," as it has been called by our American neighbors, or the ''sum of all villanies," as John Wesley more tersely termed it, was abolished in Upper Canada in 1793 by a decision of Chief-Justice Osgoode. Ten years later— 1803—it was also abolished in Lower Canada. In the districts of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, the number of slaves held in 1784 was 304.

vice—that known as the "Black Pioneers," which served faithfully to the close of the war. At the conclusion of peace the colored people saw with terror their former masters arriving at New York from Virginia and the Carolinas, and seizing their living "property" on the streets or dragging them from their beds, to carry them back to the South. Sir Guy Carleton, refusing to understand the article that Laurens had had inserted in the treaty, prohibiting the carrying away of slaves or other property, as stipulating the surrender of any slaves who had taken refuge under the British flag—a surrender he thought in the highest degree dishonorable to Great Britain, soon relieved the distress of the colored people by a proclamation that all Negroes who had sought refuge from rebel masters within the British lines were free, and by a certificate to that effect given to each former slave. Having caused an accurate list to be taken in view of any demand for indemnity, vessels were soon fitted out, in which they were sent to Burchtown, near Shelburne, where, a few weeks later, they were joined by others who had sailed from St. Augustine for Halifax. About eighteen men of the Black Pioneer corps reached Halifax in the spring fleet. Captains were appointed to attend to the division of the lands and the distribution of the rations, and over the whole Colonel Stephen Bluck, a mulatto, by appointment exercised a certain supervision. Bluck, in 1788, entertained Prince William Henry, afterwards William IV., at dinner at his house on the Burchtown road. He was about that time schoolmaster to the colored settlement. Few business men at the present day affix as fine a signature to a document as he did to one now in my possession. What became of him has not been clearly ascertained. Tradition states that an accusation of misappropriation of funds, entrusted to him for the benefit of the colored public, led him to leave home and make his way toward the Bay of Fundy, and that a fragment of his clothing, picked up some time after, led to the belief that he had been destroyed by some wild animal. In this colored settlement at Burchtown John Wesley took a deep interest. In one of his earliest letters to Robert Barry he promised to send them some reading matter, and added: "They shall never want books while I live." In subsequent letters he scarcely ever failed to make inquiries about the same settlement.

There were good men among these Negroes, whose principles were tested at Shelburne, and still more severely at Sierra Leone, and were not found wanting; but the great majority were better known by the trouble they gave the magistrates and the demands they made upon the overseers of the poor. Among the earliest ordinances passed by the sessions was one enacting "that fifty handbills be printed immediately, forbidding negro dances and frolicks in this town of Shelburne."

The President of this Society having favored the members with a copy of the manuscript journal of John Clarkson, to whom was entrusted the removal of the colored people from the Lower Provinces to Sierra Leone in 1791, only brief notice of that event need be taken here. During the autumn of 1791, Lieutenant Clarkson met the Negroes at Burchtown in the meeting-house used by "Moses," a colored Methodist lay preacher, and read to them the proposals and terms of the company. These were that each married man should have thirty acres of land, and each male child fifteen acres, in the new African settlement. They were to have a free passage, and on their arrival to be furnished with provisions until they could clear a spot from which to secure their own necessary food. After that the company was also to furnish them with any provisions needed, for which produce of the plantations would be received as pay. The majority of those present accepted the terms and asked removal. Their kindred at the westward soon heard of the land of promise and resolved to have a share in it. John Sargent, Esq., of Barrington, met one of the small parties constantly on their way towards Shelburne from Barrington, Argyle and Yarmouth, and asked whither they were going. 'Oh, massa, we be going to Sire Leone to be made majesties (magistrates) of," was the reply of the simple-hearted creatures. Two vessel loads of them left Shelburne on December 3rd, 1791, on their way to Halifax, and these, with others gathered from several parts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, making in all twelve hundred, sailed from Halifax on January 15th, 1792, under command of Lieutenant Clarkson. In spite of storms which scattered the fleet, all the vessels reached Sierra Leone in safety; but a fever, which had broken out on shipboard, continued for a time to rage so severely on shore that decent interment of the bodies became difficult. In their new homes some of these Negroes remained steady and peaceable, and welcomed the arrival some years later of an English Methodist missionary, but the majority became so unruly and violent that they endangered the existence of the settlement, and even attempted the murder of the governor. So difficult was the task of keeping them in order, that when, eight years later, the managers of the colony were asked to receive the Maroons, also from Nova Scotia, they only consented in the hope that the one race would prove "a counterpoise to the other."

Three newspapers were published at Shelburne, all weeklies. The *Royal American Gazette* was published by James Robertson, who, with his brother and one Turnbull, had published the *Norwich Packet*, at Norwich, Connecticut, in 1773. After the British troops had taken possession of New York in 1776, the Robertsons removed thither, and during the war published the *Royal American Gazette.* They came to Shelburne in Cap-

tain Barclay's company, bringing with them twenty slaves, and as soon as possible resumed the publication of their paper under its previous name. The subscription list never exceeded one hundred and sixty names, and the last issue bore the date of August 22, 1785. In September, 1787, the *Royal American Gazette* reappeared at Charlottetown under James Robertson's management, as the first paper published in Prince Edward Island. Thirty-five years later a total issue of fifty copies per week sufficed for the demands of the newspaper readers of that colony; it may therefore be presumed that the paper and title, to which the exiled publisher had clung through so many changes of fortune, was finally abandoned at Charlottetown. A committee of the Assembly and Legislative Council was named early in 1788 to solicit the appoint-ment, through Lord Dorchester (Sir Guy Carleton), of Robertson as Queen's Printer for the island, but in a list of the inhabitants, drawn up ten years later, his name cannot be found. A final glimpse of this Shelburne citizen is obtained from Sabine, who states that in 1810 he was a printer and bookseller in Edinburgh. His brother Alexander died at Shelburne a short time after the Loyalists reached that place. The second paper was the *Port Roseway Gazetteer* and *Shelburne Advertiser.* It was a small paper. J. Robertson, Jr., and T. & J. Swords began its publication in the autumn of 1784, It was published only for a short time. The Swords brothers afterwards went to New York, where in 1797 they were printers of the *Theological Magazine*. One of them, at the time of death, was in charge of an Episcopal paper published in the same city. The third paper was the *Nova Scotia Packet and General Advertiser*, and was published by James Humphreys, a man of some prominence both before and after his arrival at Shelburne. This paper was the last to be discontinued. It was at first an eight-page paper; in the summer of 1786 it was reduced to half that size, and in 1787 it ceased to be published. The subscription price was twelve shillings per annum, half in advance.

In the columns of these old journals one may read as current news from the latest London papers the speeches of Burke and Sheridan on the impeachment of Warren Hastings. In the advertising columns are strange names and associations. Dry and wet goods are both advertised. "Wet goods"—a term now obsolete—was the business word for groceries. The same person announces in the one advertisement Bibles and prayer-books and West India rum. As at the present day, a variety of nostrums was offered to the invalid. Probably but one of these—Turlington's Balsam—could be procured from a Halifax druggist at this date. Other advertisements and notices suggest the fashions of that day. The "tower" head-dress, which, towards the close of the colonial period had

obtained colossal proportions, had, it is probable, not wholly disappeared. Frequently, when fully built up, the superstructure, by actual measurement, was an inch longer than the lady's head and face below it. Men at that time wore the queue—the long braid down the back—the head being plentifully powdered with white powder or flour. To such lengths was this practice carried that at a time of scarcity in Nova Scotia a government notice advised economy in breadstuffs in this direction. A comparison between the advertisement columns of that day and our own establish the significant fact—that Fashion in former days used men and not women as fashion blocks on which to display her gayer colors. Far more prominence is given to cloths and bright vestings for gentlemen than to materials for ladies' dress. For the latter the favorite stuff seems to have been "bombazine." Most of my hearers may be aware of the fact that somewhat gay colours in evening dress continued to be used by gentlemen at a much later period.[8]

How were these thousands supplied with food? Necessity caused the early settlers to seek land communication with other settlements as early as possible, but the roads made scarcely permitted the use of wheels in any direction. Strenuous effort was made for connection with the fertile Annapolis Valley, but when such progress had been made that several persons had passed over the road, the rapid depopulation of the town put a sudden and fatal check upon that attempt. For a time certain staple articles of food were furnished by the British Government, From that quarter for three or four years each man, woman and child, who had arrived from the revolted colonies, received a daily allowance of flour and pork. How good these may have been we dare not say. A Shelburne Loyalist wrote in January, 1785: "We have nothing here but His Majesty's rotten pork and unbaked flour." Possibly the monotony of his table may have made a poor fellow cynical; or contractors for an immense quantity of supplies may have taken cruel advantage. Ration tickets, however, became a kind of currency, and some variety was therefore possible. A certain quantity per day of the articles named was allowed to each person above ten years of age: all under that age received half the quantity. Masters received as much for each adult slave as for themselves, A month's supply was distributed at a time. Edward Brinley, Esq., was superintendent of the commissariat department. To bake "His Majesty's unbaked flour" there were more than a baker's dozen bakeries in

8 Lord Lytton, in writing of his father's celebrated novel—*Pelham*—remarks: "One at least of the changes which the book effected in matters of dress has kept its ground to this day… Till then the coats worn for evening dress were of different colors,—brown, green or blue, according to the fancy of the wearer, and Lord Oxford tells me that the adoption of the now invariable black dates from the publication of *Pelham*." *Pelham*, you will remember, was given to the public in 1828.

the town. The general opinion has limited the government supply of rations to the third year, but there is reason to believe that the much-needed help was given for an additional year. Fish abounded in the harbor: the great want was that of fresh meat. During the session of the Assembly for 1786, Isaac Wilkins moved that in consideration of the circumstances the government should be asked to authorize the importation of cattle into the district of Shelburne, but his motion was negatived. For vegetables the inhabitants were dependent upon the uncertain visits of small coasting vessels.

The hopes of the Loyalist settlers of Shelburne were based in a great measure upon their possession of a harbor of rare beauty and convenience, One of their earliest efforts, therefore, was the creation of a mercantile interest. Wharves were thickly built along the front of the town, but, with white oak and other timber at their very doors, they poured money into the lap of strangers for vessels, as many of them had done for the frames of their houses. Instead of securing shipbuilders they purchased vessels in Britain; and others, which had brought cargoes from the West Indies, they bought in their own port. After a time this policy was changed. The passage, near the end of 1785, of an act offering a bounty of ten shillings per ton on all vessels of over forty tons burthen, built in the province, gave a new impulse to shipbuilding at home. Light vessels of eighty and ninety tons or more were built during the succeeding summer and autumn in the county for Shelburne merchants. The ship Roseway, of two hundred and fifty tons, built for the firm of McLean & Bogle, and launched from one of the shipyards of the north division of the town on December 22nd, 1786, is believed to have been the first ship launched in the province after it finally came under British control. A little vessel or boat of only eight tons, called the Roseway Yacht, and built in Shelburne, crossed from Halifax to London in 1786, in twenty-eight days. Most of the smaller vessels were engaged in the West India trade.

The lumber trade was at one time quite extensive. Some parts of the shore of Jordan Bay were covered with a fine growth of timber. In June, 1785, the ship Prince William Henry took in at Jordan River for London a cargo of squared timber, which the Royal American Gazette declared to be the first cargo of Nova Scotia products ever taken to England. From lack of mills, or want of tact on the part of the merchants, the extensive home supply of lumber was only in part depended upon. Vessels were at times sent to the Penobscot, and the lumber re-shipped from them to the West Indies, or transferred from them to larger vessels leaving for Britain.

The shore and bank fisheries, which now furnish Shelburne's principal article of export, were partially overlooked at that day by merchants who turned their eyes toward the more expensive and hazardous whale fishery. A whaling company was established by them in 1784. Of the nine firms constituting the company one belonged to London; one or two to Halifax; the others to Shelburne. An agent sent to London to secure the co-operation of the English firm purchased a brig and a schooner, and with these the company commenced the Brazilian whale fishery. After several other vessels had been added to the fleet the venture was found to be a failure. In 1789 the concern was wound up, when it was found that the company, which had commenced the business with a capital of £8350, had lost about a third of that sum in four years. Among the exports from Shelburne in 1788, were 13,141 quintals dry codfish; 4,192 casks pickled fish; 61 casks smoked salmon; 149 barrels fish oil, and 14,798 gallons sperm oil. Other exports were wholly of lumber.

In 1791 an effort was made by Shelburne ship-owners in a new direction. Newfoundland fish and New England lumber had nearly driven them out of the West India trade; they now turned to the carrying trade between the United States and Newfoundland. The letter of the law was against them. According to enactment no vessel coming directly from the United States could be admitted to entry in Newfoundland. This law had been passed in the interest of English merchants, who at that day did as they pleased with that unfortunate oldest colony of Britain. A license could be: obtained, but with difficulty, and seldom for more than one voyage. Shelburne ship-owners evaded the law by loading their vessels in the United States and then entering and clearing at Shelburne for Newfoundland. During 1791 some fourteen vessels were managed in this way. But their owners were soon thwarted in this scheme. 'The failure of the fisheries to the northward of St. John's; the nearness to Newfoundland of Quebec, in the neighborhood of which harvests had been unusually good; and the vigilance of the English merchants, who soon discovered that they were being undersold, drove Shelburne shipping from the new route. Thus Shelburne business men were at last driven to hope only in what men ought to hate. It was Lynde Walter—a son of Dr. Walter of whom I have spoken, and one of the firm of Cox & Walter—who wrote at that period in a letter-book which I have seen: "War only can keep us on our feet: peace drives us from our homes."

War—that sad alternative—came. England was drawn into conflict with France in 1793, and was soon seen coping, singlehanded, with the combined forces of France, Spain and Holland. From that period till the desperate conflict at Waterloo sent Eng-

land's inveterate enemy to St. Helena to languish and die there, war was the rule and peace the exception in Britain's history. But even war could not keep Shelburne merchants on their feet. Positive harm was the result. Government measures for defence and frequent visits by His Majesty's ships prevented hostile attack upon the place, but did not prevent privateers from capturing some of the rapidly dwindling merchant fleet. No efforts were at first made by way of reprisals, but on the renewal of the war with France the inducements held out to Nova Scotians by Mr. Dundas, through Governor Wentworth, and the successes of the *Rover* and some other Liverpool privateers, excited some interest among Shelburne folk. In 1800 a number of persons, with a few others belonging to Liverpool, fitted out the *Nelson* with sixteen guns, and placed her under command of Captain Ephraim Dean, of Liverpool. The *Nelson* is said to have been a Spanish vessel, cut out of a Spanish harbor in the West Indies, and sold at Liverpool, and to have been unequalled in speed by any vessel in this part of the world. In spite of all, however, her owners were strangely unfortunate. She made a number of captures, but only a few of these were legally condemned either in Nova Scotia or the West Indies. One vessel, condemned at Shelburne, they were glad to restore to her owners on a mere nominal payment; the owners of another schooner, sent into Tortola, put in a claim for heavy damages through detention, and pressed their claim with such persistence and success that some of the more influential owners of the *Nelson* narrowly escaped the jail. At a later date the unfortunate privateer sailed away as a freight-ship and was never again heard from. It may be added that serious injury was done to the business of the place by the tremendous storm of September 25th, 1798. By it a number of wharves were swept away, which have never been rebuilt. The damage done by that storm to the wharves and shipping in Halifax was estimated at nearly £100,000.

Few sights are more sad than that of a deserted dwelling. Wherever human beings have lived, some heart-fibres seem to cling to the walls and thus connect the departed with remaining ruins. In many Jong and lonely journeys at night through thinly settled districts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the deep ravine, with its narrow bridge crossing some stream where, as the story went, strange lights had been seen or some headless man had appeared to lonely travellers, has never to me seemed so suggestive as the presence of a forest clearing on which stood a dwelling with doors and windows gone, and its former occupants scattered or dead. When twenty-five years had passed Shelburne had become a city of deserted dwellings. "The houses," writes an early visitor, "were still standing though untenanted. It had all the stillness and quiet of a moon-

light scene. It was difficult to imagine it was deserted. The idea of repose more readily suggested itself than decay. All was new and recent. Seclusion, and not death or removal, appeared to be the cause of the absence of inhabitants."[9] The same writer thus described the place many years later: "The houses, which had been originally built of wood, had severally disappeared. Some had been taken to pieces and removed to Halifax or St. John; others had been converted into fuel, and the rest had fallen a prey to neglect and decomposition. The chimneys stood up erect, and marked the spot around which the social circle had assembled; and the blackened fireplaces, ranged one above another, bespoke the size of the tenement and the means of its owner. In some places they had sunk with the edifice, leaving a heap of ruins; while not a few were inclining to their fall, and awaiting the first storm to repose again in the dust that now covered those who had constructed them. Hundreds of cellars, with their stone walls and granite partitions, were everywhere to be seen, like uncovered monuments of the dead. Time and decay had done their work. All that was perishable had perished, and those numerous vaults spoke of a generation that had passed away for ever, and, without the aid of an inscription, told a tale of sorrow and of sadness that overpowered the heart." In some of these deserted homes furniture, and even clothing, were left in the rush of departure. A lady was telling me the other day that she, with companions of her childhood, forty or more years ago, would timidly venture upstairs on a bright day to a certain room in one of the old dwellings, and quietly look over the contents of a trunk or two and then carefully replace each article. Not a thing would be carried away, of course, for it was most clearly understood that to be ''haunted" would be the penalty for such an act.

The same lady has reminded me that, living among these deserted dwellings, many of the remaining inhabitants became superstitious to an unusual degree. A recent lecturer in this city, could he have interviewed some of the men and women of that place and period, might have extended his single lecture on "Ghosts" into a series. Few old provincial towns have been without a dwelling or two which no child or nervous man would have taken as a gift, on condition of perpetual residence, but the old Loyalist village was rich in such points of interest. Even the harbor once had its mysterious light, which only ceased, it has been said, to be seen when a certain man, after having tramped hard a spot on the shore, as if in conflict with some evil power, had thrown himself into the waters

9 "*The Old Judge*, or Life in a Colony." By the author of Sam Slick, p. 63.

and perished as his wife years before had been supposed to have perished when thrown from a boat by his hands.

The early decay of Shelburne had been foreseen by some of the keener men who first reached the spot. Its remoteness from other settlements; it situation at the head of a long harbor sealed by frost in winter; its lack of farming land, and the presence in great numbers of military men and merchants unacquainted with the methods of settlement in the wilderness, and unable to pursue or to appreciate the value of the fisheries near them, promised poorly for the permanence of the proposed city. However prudent may have been the plans of the original associators, it may well be supposed that the sudden arrival of the thousands whom Sir Guy Carleton found it necessary, contrary to agreement, to pour in upon them in the autumn must have interfered sadly with the wisest designs. Some men seem to have merely looked at the lots granted them and to have left. Joseph Pynchon, one of the original delegates from New York, saved himself from reproaches which must have overwhelmed any sensitive man, by selling his lands eighteen months after his arrival and withdrawing from the place, Even in 1785, notices of houses for sale formed a good proportion of the whole number of advertisements in the Shelburne papers, though widespread reports of the new city and the beautiful harbor caused an immigration which, for a time, counter-balanced the emigration—in point of numbers at least. But even this influx of strangers soon ceased; and in the autumn and winter of 1787, when the government distribution of food had ended, men were treading on the heels of their fellows as they hastened away. The red "G" which Archibald Cunningham, the collector, affixed to numerous names on the rate-book, and the list of absentees' estates, show that in 1788, in spite of a great effort to promote trade, the number of removals had increased at a rapid rate. A year or two later, when the English commissioners for making inquiry into Loyalist losses and claims had concluded their task, other citizens withdrew.[10] During all these years, the drink curse was doing its work with deadly vigor. In their presentment for 1786, the Grand Jury said: "The present number of dram shops and houses where they sell spirituous liquors is a grievance of so serious a nature that, if not redressed in time, the total destruction of every virtuous principle in

10 Colonel Dundas and Mr. Jeremy Pemberton, two members of the Board of Commissioners, were sens out to investigate the losses of the Loyalists who had sought homes in the British American Provinces. The number of claims examined by these gentlemen was 1,272; the amount asked was £975,310; the sum allowed for losses was £336,753, The total sum allowed to petitioners in Britain and abroad was more than £3,000,000, It seems certain that only a part of the Loyalists presented claims for compensation for services or loss of property, and that some of those who presented such claims did not press them. The officers of more than twenty Loyalist corps were placed on the half-pay list.

the rising generation will not be the least of the many ill consequences that must result from them." Yet, with a madness too nearly paralleled at the present day, the magistrates went on granting the usual licenses to pauperize and embrute the population. In 1790, the burden of the poor became almost insupportable, owing to the absence of nearly all the once wealthy men. Some relief was afforded during the following year by the removal of the greater number of the Negroes to Sierra Leone. The assessment rolls for 1792 show that a large part of the taxes was upon the estates of absentees. In July of that year, Lynde Walter, before quoted, wrote to John Minshull, at New York, respecting some furniture he had forwarded: "You would have had a further quantity by the *Edward*, but she is full of goods appertaining to the different passengers."[11] Passing on for a few years we note that in 1796, when the war from which improvement had been expected had come, only 125 of the 710 rate-payers of 1786 appeared on the assessment rolls. Allowance must of course be made for those who had been laid away in the quiet cemeteries, but the death rate at that time does not appear to have been at all beyond the average. The rapidity of the decline of the place may be judged from the fact that Governor Parr estimated the population of the district in 1784 at 10,000, of whom much the greater part must have been in the town, while a writer in the Acadian Recorder in 1818 put down the population at that time at three hundred. Ten years later, Captain Moorsom, in his "Letters from Nova Scotia," reported the total number of the inhabitants of the village to be less than four hundred. It is a suggestive fact that of the twenty-one gentlemen named in the *Royal American Gazette* in January, 1785, as the wardens and vestry-men of the parishes of St. George and St. Patrick only one is known to have died near Shelburne. This solitary man died several miles from the town.

Very sad, in more thoughtful moments, must the place have been to those who from choice or necessity clung to it. In all directions were mementoes of the past. On street after street were the vacant residences of once intimate friends, On one street was the site of the Merchants' Coffee House, where Bishop Inglis had been entertained at dinner after his consecration of the church; where the two Masonic lodges had been accustomed to meet and on high days to dine; where gay weekly assemblies had held revelry, or busy men had watched sales by auction; and where the magistrates had sometimes held court, or the captains of companies had discussed public affairs, when a disposition to divide their patronage had not taken them to the second "coffeehouse" or some other tavern. Quite near was "the bridge," the fashionable promenade of the place, where on

11 John Minshull is said to have had the finest dwelling in the town, built, as some others, on an oak or chestnut frame imported from the old colonies.

summer evenings the military bands had played the rich music of that day. And there, as beautiful as ever, were the clear waters of the harbor, now only occasionally, disturbed by stately ships. I caught this spirit of sadness as I looked over the old interleaved almanacs in which for many years Archibald Cunningham recorded the events of daily life, personal and public, of the deserted town. Through these the old Scotch elder, a bachelor but by no means a recluse, speaks with deep pathos. In 1819 he wrote: "Aug. 5, Mr, Braine and family left poor Shelburne," and in the following year, at the bidding of death, he closed a record which-had been monotonous indeed with similar statements.

To say, as some have hastily done, that these thousands, wanderers a second time, went back to their former homes is not to do them justice. Some were ready to return, with Britain's partial recompense for losses in their possession, when assured that they might do so with safety. Others, through business causes, were led near former homes, and, natural feelings triumphing over temporary bitterness, friends once estranged won them back, But many *could* not return. In some cases the enmity of relatives had only grown stronger with time; in others the homes which had tempted covetous Whigs to secure their confiscation were in the hands of strangers whose interest it was to keep former owners at a distance, The great number would not go back. Honored names occur to me of men who struggled long with adversity, but were proof to the end against all persuasion to return to a land which they had left on principle, or whence they had been rudely driven. And of those who through sheer necessity sought another resting place in some part of the American republic, not a few took refuge only on the outskirts. The Methodist Bishop Asbury found Charles White, who has been mentioned in this paper, some time later in the wilds of Kentucky. Years before that interview the bishop had been an inmate of White's pleasant home in New York, but between the two visits the Shelburne rally and dispersion had intervened. Numbers of these Shelburne exiles found their way to Britain, the West Indies and the Canadas, where after their strange vicissitudes their dust sleeps quietly under the shadow of the flag they loved. A larger number probably found homes elsewhere in Nova Scotia and in the other maritime provinces, Stray gleams of sunshine often seemed to fall upon the faded pages of the early Shelburne assessment rolls as I there met with names familiar during years spent in New Brunswick—peculiar names, seldom heard in other parts of the Dominion. But a precise answer to the question, "Whither did these exiles go?" cannot be given. Let it rather be asked: "Where might they not have been found?" Felicia Hemans wrote:—

"Go, stranger, track the deep!
Free, free the white sail spread!
Wave may not foam, nor wild wind sweep,
Where sleep not England's dead."

The list of these world-wide wanderers was largely recruited from the short-lived city on our Southern coast. Thousands met there

"Whose graves are scattered far and wide,
By mount and stream and sea."

Few records of their wanderings and sufferings have been preserved. Their circumstances were most unfavorable to the preparation or preservation of historical data. The Loyalists in general left no songs behind them, nor harpers to chant their sorrows; the best writers upon one of the most marvellously sad events of the new world have given us only a comparatively few detached incidents, which serve to deepen the mysterious interest of the story rather than to remove it. Sufficient materials must, however, exist for the preparation of one of the most sadly-dramatic, and for the most part heroically-dramatic, chapters in modern history. These fragments— now in numerous scattered receptacles—-should be "sought out and set in order" by some writer to whom the labor would be its own reward, and who would put himself in as thorough sympathy with the Loyalist period as Motley was doing with that of the Dutch Republic, when he wrote from Brussels to his friend Holmes: "With the present generation here I am not familiar. The dead men of the place are my familiar friends. I am at home in any cemetery… Any ghost that ever flits by night across the moonlight square is at once hailed by me as a man and a brother. I call him by his Christian name at once… Here I remain among my fellow worms, feeding on these musty mulberry leaves of old letters and documents, out of which we are afterwards to spin our silk." In the meantime let each descendent of a true Loyalist aim to keep fresh and green the memory of that ancestor. Former generations have not been wholly faultless in respect to their obligation to do this. Their apparent neglect irresistibly reminds us of the line-and-a-half which constitutes not only the last sentence, but the last paragraph of Napier's matchless "History of the War in the Peninsula": "Thus the war terminated, and with it all remembrance of the veterans' services." Farther from the conflict than were the generations immediately preceding us, we may yet do better than they.

I have cherished no harshness of feeling, nor have I forgotten "God in history." If to a section of the American Colonists of the last century was permitted the important work of laying the foundation of one of the mightiest nations on earth, to another section —that of which I have written—was allowed the no less serious task of taking a very large share in the development of the Canadian Dominion—a most important section of the "Greater Britain" of to-day. Side by side, without departure from the lines which were projected a century since, the descendants of the Whigs and of the United Empire Loyalists may work out their destiny in such harmony as shall secure the smile of Heaven.